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Swift, Lucius Burrie

Germans in America

Indianapolis

[1916]

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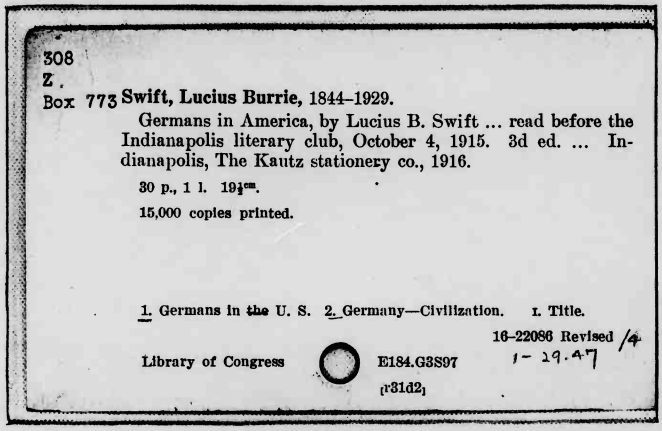

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GERMANS IN AMERICA

BY
LUCIUS B. SWIFT
OF THE INDIANAPOLIS BAR

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READ BEFORE THE INDIANAPOLIS
LITERARY CLUB, OCTOBER 4, 1915

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THE KAUTZ STATIONERY CO.
INDIANAPOLIS
1916

The National German-American Alliance, devoted to Germanizing America, now sixteen years old and claiming two million members, challenges the American people with its slogan, "Germanism versus Anglo-Saxonism." In all that makes for liberty Germanism has no background, while the sky of Anglo-Saxonism for fifteen hundred years has lighted the path of the mighty progress embraced in the words of Kipling:

"All we have of freedom, all we use or know—
This our fathers bought for us long and long ago.

Ancient right unnoticed as the breath we draw—
Leave to live by no man's leave, underneath the law.

Lance and torch and tumult, steel and gray goose wing
Wrenched it, inch and ell and all, slowly from the king."

Americans may not hesitate to accept the challenge; and with them will stand every immigrant and every descendant of an immigrant from Scandinavia to the Balkans and from the Balkans to Italy, except these two million Germans of the Alliance. All will maintain that, not Germanism, but Anglo-Saxon principles shall abide here forever.

In this contest, this pamphlet is having a part and the demand for it makes necessary this additional edition which is slightly revised. In addition to standard histories the writer is indebted to such works as Dawson's "What Is Wrong With Germany"; Barker's "Modern Germany"; Collier's "Germany and the Germans"; Von Buelow's "Imperial Germany"; Schurz's "Reminiscences"; Ohlinger's "Their True Faith and Allegiance"; and especially to "The German Emperor as Shown in His Public Utterances," by Christian Gauss, Professor of Modern Lauguages, Princeton University.

Indianapolis, July 1, 1916.

1-20-47 j.m.w

GERMANS IN AMERICA.

Since the beginning of the present war we have had to bear a good deal from Germans in America in their attempt to show us how little we have accomplished in the world compared with Germany. The Kaiser said that the Germans were the salt of the earth and Germans in America have taken him at his word and have not been slow to let us know about it. So far as heard from, there is not in their mind a question but that our system of government and our merits and accomplishments as inhabitants of the earth are far inferior to the same things in Germany. It seems to me that something can be said on the other side and, further, that a little plain speaking would befit the occasion, and, as an old friend of the Germans, I mean to do something in that line.

The Germans in Germany and Germans even to the second and third generations in America are genuinely surprised because Americans have no sympathy with the German government in this war, and, after witnessing its enormous military power, they consider the present style of German government a menace to civil liberty.

On the other hand Americans are not only surprised that such sympathy should be expected but are astonished that it should be expected by any German in America who has been here long enough to understand the foundations of our institutions, to say nothing of those Germans of the second and third and even more generations who were born and educated in this coun-

try. Judged by those who speak out, these technically American citizens, and among them many graduates of our leading universities, believe in the Kaiser and long for his success; they approve of his rule in Germany; they find no flaw in his treatment of Belgium; they openly justify the drowning of the passengers and crew of the Lusitania; they see in the Kaiser a Moses leading the Germans into the Promised Land; and to crown all, they prefer Prussian efficiency to American liberty. If they had lived among the landed aristocracy of Prussia, they would not have held more extreme notions. This chasm between us, no genuine American will ever cross.*

*Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, in an address Sept. 4, 1915, before the Laurel Hill Association at Stockbridge, says: "Thus, in a little volume of addresses published early in 1914—that is, a half-year before the outbreak of the war in Europe, Prof. Julius Goebel, of the University of Illinois, a resident of the United States and a university teacher here for more than thirty years, lays down the doctrine that Germans who come here are not to be made over into Americans by the melting-pot of which we have been so proud. In his book, 'The Battle for German Culture in America,' he emphatically rejects this proposal and asserts that German-Americans are only Americans in the 'political sense'—and only in that sense—when they take the oath of citizenship. Most emphatically he protests against the 'incredible presumption' of those who would stamp out 'our German personality in the mould of a factory-made type of people.'" * * *

He declares that every thoughtful person, as well as every cynic, was asking as far back as 1912 whether the American people could much longer govern itself. Almost every expedient to improve our condition had been tried and found wanting, he averred, and there had not been lacking demagogues to recommend a further extension of the democracy, a further trusting in the people, as a cure-all for our political evils." * * *

"He has a remedy. It is the German who is to step into the breach with German Kultur, with German sense of duty and of honor to save America from itself, and to bring about a new birth of the nation."

The Mark of Brandenburg was no part of ancient Germany but was conquered from the Slavs in 928. Prussia was a no man's land given to the Teutonic Knights in 1300 to be converted to Christianity by fire and sword. The first Hohenzollern came from a hill named Zollern in Suabia. He married the daughter and heir of the Burgrave of Nuremberg, and then became Burgrave himself. The title descended until it came to a Hohenzollern who wanted to go higher and he bought the Mark of Brandenburg from the Emperor Sigismund for a half million gulden. Sigismund, when King of Hungary, had already mortgaged and forfeited Brandenburg to another man, but he brushed that aside and sold it to Hohenzollern. It was that Hohenzollern who the Kaiser says was called by God from Nuremberg to Brandenburg and from that call the present Kaiser derives his rule by divine right. The Teutonic Knights having conquered Prussia, became insubordinate and unruly and a succeeding Hohenzollern of Brandenburg was given the job by a German Emperor of bringing them to reason, which he did in a thoroughly Hohenzollern manner, with fire and sword. He was now Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia. These two provinces not originally German territory at all, but colonized by Germans, who mixed much Slavic blood, were combined into the Kingdom of Prussia. The rule has always been and is today autocratic. Today Prussia rules Germany; during the forty-four years under the imperial constitution Prussia has never failed to have her way. What is the Prussian way?

In a proclamation, "To My Army," in 1901, the Kaiser said, "The world does not rest upon the shoulders of Atlas any more securely than the Prussian

State upon the shoulders of the army! It has sealed with its blood its love and gratitude for its Kings." In 1912 in a speech at Brandenburg the Kaiser said: "The German Empire and the German crown rest upon a Brandenburg basis and a Prussian foundation." With all that this means, Germans in America accept it and approve of it and display the same kind of infatuation for the Kaiser that the French had for Napoleon Bonaparte, and they think that Americans ought to partake of their enthusiasm. Americans are immeasurably disappointed to find that Germans in America have never learned that the line drawn from the America of today back to Hengest and Horsa in 449 never approaches the line drawn from the Germany of today back to the Brandenburg conquered from the Slavs in 928 and to the Prussia given to the Teutonic Knights in 1300. The Anglo-Saxon line is blazed by the marks of an undying struggle for government by the people, culminating in the democratic liberty we enjoy today. From the highest to the lowest our officers are our agents, bound and limited by our laws; we are the masters and we have supreme contempt for any authority which we have had no hand in establishing. Our spirit is free and finds an outlet in free speech and a free press. We started free-necked men and we are free-necked men now. All this apparently has no weight today with Germans in America.

The German line runs for centuries in an unbroken monotony of submission by the people to authority they had no hand in establishing and to laws they had no hand in making. The line ends today in the Kaiser's "Brandenburg basis and Prussian foundation." In conquered Brandenburg and Prussia the

Germans started under the yoke, and under the yoke all Germany is today. There is in the German line no Magna Charta, no John Hampden, no Oliver Cromwell, no axe in the hands of the people descending on the neck of a traitor king, no king driven from his throne for betraying his trust, no Bill of Kights, no Declaration of Independence, no Minute Man, no Liberty Bell, no George Washington, no Abraham Lincoln. Of all these marks blazed during the centuries Germans in America today are apparently oblivious.

Yet, we started even. If we go back to the Germans in the German forests the lines do meet; for German tribes were self-governing. 'No man dictates to the assembly"; says Tacitus, "he may persuade, but cannot command." The Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes and the Frisians, uncontaminated by Rome, carried into England the ancient German freedom, the town moot, the hundred moot, the folk moot. They swept Roman England free of inhabitants and of Christianity. When the movement was completed a nation of Germans occupied England, the only German nation resulting from the migration of the barbarians. They were pagans and Odin was their god. These were our forefathers. Out of this pagan German nation has come the English speaking race of today. Although a multitude of times crushed to earth, they never forgot their republican institutions, their mass township meetings, their delegate meetings, and never lost their capacity to transact public business. War brought the king, but the king could not shake off the Wintenagemote, nor its successor, the English Parliament. In their meetings the kicker kicked out his kick; there the officers, even the king, were called to account; there for

centuries was carried on that subborn fight of the people against oppression. There facts today, apparently make no impression upon Germans in America.

It is not necessary to trace how or when the Germans in Germany lost their liberties; they lost them. We find them in the eighteenth century under all manner of potentates and in every case the will of the potentate is the law of his territory. This had been so, century after century, with no voice raised on behalf of the people; while during all those centuries the Anglo-Saxons were carrying on their mighty struggle to maintain and extend civil rights.

The sending of German troops to fight against American independence is a sufficient illustration of the ownership of the lives, and bodies of their subjects, by the German rulers of that time. Twenty-nine thousand one hundred sixty-six Germans came. Six rulers sold their men. Catherine of Russia refused and Holland refused. Bavaria wanted a contract but her men were such a worthless lot that her application was rejected. The transaction was like a sale of cattle by a ranchman. Each ruler got the best contract he could and then filled it with men exactly as he would go into a field and separate cattle sold. The ruler of Hanau wrote, "My regiment is all ready at the first twinkle that shall be given me," and hurried off to England to push the matter. The Prince of Waldeck collected eighty-nine men and locked them up in the fortress of Hameln ready for delivery. England paid the wages of the troops. The Duke of Brunwsick sold 5,723 men, more than one-sixth of his able-bodied inhabitants. He got for his own pocket $34.50 for each man, as a starter, and for each man killed and each three wounded he got the same sum. Finally he got an

annual lump sum of 64,500 German crowns and twice that sum for two years after the return of the troops.

The landgrave of Hesse fairly skinned England and got a contract whereby he sent 16,992 men and made millions of dollars; and the other rulers sold their men with great profit to themselves. For this service men were impressed from the plow, the workshop and the highway; no man was safe from the agents of the princes who kidnapped without scruple. Men were kept under guard and were marched to the ships under guard to keep them from deserting. When a father asked for his son taken by conscription he was sent to the mines. When a mother asked that her son be returned to her, she was sent to the workhouse. George Washington Greene characterizes the act of each of these rulers by a line from Dante:

"He sells their flesh, it being yet alive."

Is it necessary to use more words to show that liberty in Germany was dead? A people who submit to be sent like cattle to the shambles have reached the lowest stage of submission to autocratic rule. Against these mercenaries the American farmer took down his rifle and brought their activities to an end at Trenton, at Bennington, at Saratoga and finally, with the help of the French, at Yorktown.

Then came Napoleon Bonaparte. When he began to totter, the King of Prussia and the other princes of Germany promised their subjects that if they would rise and rid the world of Bonaparte they should then have some share in government. The people performed their part, but the rulers, after renewing their promise

in writing, went on as before; and the people submitted. These rulers had for centuries fought and conquered each other but they had had no trouble with their subjects demanding a share in government. They said they held by divine right and their subjects submitted; whatever they allowed their subjects was pure grace. When the landgrave of Hesse was driving his subjects to the American shambles, he wrote to Voltaire that he wanted to learn the art of making men perceive that "all which their ruler does is for their special good." The motto of King William III, of Prussia, was "I hold my crown by the favor of God, and I am responsible to Him for every hour of my government." And so he broke his word and lived on hugging his autocratic power until he died in 1840.

The principles of the American Revolution and of the patriots of the French Revolution at last began to be known in Germany. Most of the people were not interested, but here and there professors and student bodies talked of freedom; although no one was ready to give his life for it. In 1817 the students at Wartburg burned some conservative books and the code Napoleon. Autocracy was nervous and made severer laws against such demonstrations for liberty. In 1832, at a great student festival, toasts were drunk to the sovereignty of the people, to the United States of Germany, and to Europe Republican. Autocracy was furious and Prussia condemned thirty-nine students to death. The penalty was not inflicted but the students were confined in a fortress.

Carl Schurz was in the gymnasium in Cologne in the forties. His class was to write on the battle of Leipsic. Schurz emphasized the ill-treatment of the people by the rulers in refusing to keep the promise

of a share in the government made to the people for their heroic efforts on that battle field. He says, "I wrote that memorial oration, so to speak, with my heart's blood." His professor called him up and said, "What you wrote has a fine sound, but how can such things be allowed at a royal Prussian gymnasium? Take care that it does not happen again."

Schurz was nineteen when the movement of 1848 came to a head—the only uprising of the people where they took chances and risked lives for free government in German history. Frederick William IV, the Hohenzollern King of Prussia of that time, declared that he would never permit a piece of paper to be put between the prince and his people; he said the people themselves did not desire participation of their representatives in the government; the absolute power of the King must not be broken; "the crown must reign and govern according to the laws of God and of the country and according to the King's own resolutions"; he could not and must not "govern according to the will of majorities."

The uprising of 1848 was real. The demand, says Schurz, was for a united Germany and a national parliament; for civil rights and liberties, free speech, free press, the right of free assembly, equality before the law, a freely elected representation of the people with legislative power, responsibility of ministers, self-government of the communes, the right of the people to carry arms, in fact a "constitutional form of government on a broad democratic basis." Autocracy at first seemed to yield. A national German parliament was elected and sat in Frankfort. It adopted a constitution and in March, 1849, it elected the king of Prussia to be Kaiser. He refused on the ground that the offer

of the national crown could only come from the German princes. This broke the back of the movement; there were uprisings in many places in support of the constitution but they were put down by soldiers. Many were put on trial and condemned; Schurz and others fled the country and Germany was back again under autocratic government.

Until within recent years Germans in America universally spoke with reverence of the forty-eighters. It was in the spirit of '48 that they joined in the war for the Union; they were genuine in that war and did the best they could. And they lived in the same spirit afterward, proud to be called Americans and looking upon America as veritably the home of the free; and then they fell. They fell before the glamour of Bismarck's government by blood and iron, before the spectacle of great material prosperity, before the hypnotism of the doctrines Will to Power, Will to Conquer, Might is Right, the Strong may take from the Weak, German Arms and the German Language can be made to dominate the world. Today the moderate ideals of the Germans of 1848 are lost in the blaze of the glory of the Kaiser. No one hates the ideals of 1848 more than he does. In 1901, referring to the revolt in Berlin in 1848 when speaking to the Alexander regiment which had helped to crush it, he said, " * * * and if ever again a time like this should reappear in this city, a time of uprising against the King, then I am convinced the Alexander Regiment will be able energetically to force back into bounds any impertinence and rebellion against its royal master." This is the Kaiser's inscription upon the tombstone of the liberal movement of 1848.

When an American stands at Concord and looks upon the Minute Man where "once the embattled formers stood and fired the shot heard round the world," why does it make his eyes shine and his blood go at a gallop?

When the Declaration of Independence was adopted a bell rang out from the belfry of Independence Hall. That bell bore the inscription, "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." That was 139 years ago. That bell, the Liberty Bell, has just gone on its triumphant march across the country. Women rode fifty miles on horseback to see the bell; children were lifted up to kiss the bell; strong men touched the bell and tears filled their eyes.

If Germans in America will examine with German thoroughness the picture of the Kaiser, threatening the people with the Alexander regiment, should they emulate the Schurzes, the Kinkels and Jacobis of 1848 by insisting upon a reasonable share in their own government, these Germans ought to understand the meaning of the Minute Man and the Liberty Bell to Americans, and why Americans would like to see the Kaiser's system of government consigned to the finest grinding of the mills of the gods.

What Germans in America have embraced in place of their abandoned American political ideals only widens the chasm between America and Germany. The German Empire today consists of states bound together by an agreement called a constitution made, not by the people, but by the rulers of the states, in 1871, at the end of the Franco-Prussian war. The states also have constitutions granted by the various rulers beginning in 1830; the present Prussian constitution was granted by William IV in 1850. Under

that constitution William, the Kaiser's grandfather, in 1861 went into the church in Koenigsburg, picked up the crown from the altar, placed it upon his own head and declared in a loud voice: "I receive this crown from God's hand and from none other."

Bismarck says that the Prussian constitution was drawn with such veto provisions as to protect the *status quo*. In the Imperial constitution of 1871, the veto has the same effect. The *status quo* was autocratic and there has been no change. The character of the imperial constitution is defined by German statesmen. The Crown Prince Frederick expecting the death of his father, asked Bismarck if he would remain in office in case of a change on the throne. Bismarck says he answered that he would on two conditions, the first of which was "no parliamentary government."

Ex-Chancellor von Buelow, in his Imperial Germany, written in 1913, states the facts. He says:

"Bismarck, the Prussian, realized better than anyone else that in Germany strong government could only be based and maintained on the monarchical principle. The work of union could only be permanent if the monarchy was not a purely ornamental part of the fabric of the Empire, but was made to be the actual support of the union. And if the creative power of the Prussian monarchy, well tested in the course of centuries, was to be enlisted in the interests of the new Empire, then the King of Prussia must, as German Emperor, be more than the bearer of shadowy dignities; he must rule and guide—and for this purpose must actually possess monarchical rights such as have been laid down and transcribed in the Constitution of the Empire."

Von Buelow says further:

"The statement uttered from time to time, that my idea was to change the distribution of power between the Crown and the Parliament in favour of the latter, that is, to introduce parliamentary government in the West European sense of the words, belongs to the thickly populated realm of political fables."

He also says:

"What we Germans need can not be attained by alterations in the sphere of constitutional law. The parties which would acquire greater rights, to a large extent still lack political judgment, political training, and consciousness of the aims of the State."

This is a roundabout way of saying that autocracy still has its way, and that the German people would not know enough to rule if they had the power. Price Collier, who, though not a German, knew the working of German government as well as anyone, said in 1913, "there is no such thing in Germany as democratic or representative government." "* * * Germany today is no more democratic than Turkey was twenty years ago." The German historian Gneist says it is "absolutism under constitutional forms."

The imperial constitution is arranged on the principle of the jughandle and the ruler never lets go of the handle. If the ruler decides to take away what he has granted, who shall gainsay him with the army to back him? The Kaiser's grandfather set him the example. Under the Prussian constitution, which is another *status quo*—jughandle constitution, in 1861, Bismarck and the King wanted to enlarge the army but the legislature refused the money. They spent the money just the same, saying, that the legislature by refusing to vote necessary supplies had laid down its

functions and the King must take over the responsibilities which they declined to exercise. Having defied the constitution four years and spent the money, in 1866, after the seizure of Schleswig-Holstein and the victory over Austria, the speech from the throne, announced, says Bismarck, "that the representatives of the country were to proceed to an *ex post facto* approval of the administration carried on without appropriation act." The legislature obeyed the order almost with gratitude for the opportunity. An Anglo-Saxon legislature would have shaken the King over hell-fire, would have brought him to his knees in repentance, would have made him reaffirm every declaration of Anglo-Saxon freedom from Magna Charta to the Bill of Rights before granting forgiveness.

What does the present Kaiser say of that violation of the constitution? In 1894, speaking to his troops at Berlin, he said, "In the year 1861 when my grandfather undertook the reorganization of his arms, he was misunderstood by many and attacked by even more; nevertheless, the future gave him his splendid justification. Just as at that time, so now, too, distrust and discord are rife among the people. The only pillar on which the empire rested was the army. So it is today!"

The Kaiser feels no regret for the violation. He does not dodge behind any plea of necessity, but he gives the world to understand that his divine right backed by the army is all sufficient as against any constitution, and there is neither in the German constitution nor in any German law any provision for calling the Kaiser or his ministers to account. He says he is accountable only to God.

In 1689 the House of Commons drew up the Bill of Rights. The House of Lords agreed to it and then William and Mary agreed to it and then they were declared King and Queen. Then to clinch the matter the Bill of Rights was enacted into law and is found in the statutes of William and Mary. The Kaiser's father died June 15, 1888, and on that day the present Kaiser seated himself upon the throne and issued an address, not to the people, but to the army. What German thought of insisting that before he mounted the throne he must agree to a Bill of Rights such as William and Mary had agreed to 200 years before? The habit of staying under the yoke inherited from generation to generation is present in the German people today. No wonder the Anglo-Saxon holds his head high and looks upon Germans without any political respect as having accomplished nothing for civil liberty. The Germans will not sit on the stage in Walhalla; that place will be occupied by Anglo-Saxons —their reward for having preserved their liberties.

It will be interesting now to examine further the Kaiser's notion of his government and what he means by his Brandenburg basis and Prussian foundation. He says, addressing the army the day his father died:

"It is in these serious days of mourning that God's will places me at the head of the army and it is from a heart stirred deeply, indeed, that I address my first words to my troops." * * *

"The absolutely inviolable dependence upon the war lord is, in the army, the inheritance which descends from father to son, from generation to generation," * * *

"So we are bound together—I and the army—so we are born for one another, and so we shall hold together indissolubly whether, as God wills, we are to have peace or storm."

To Recruits:

"You wear the uniform of the Emperor; you are thereby preferred over other men. * * *

"Hold your colors high, the black, white and red which here stand before you, and think of your oath, think of your emperor."

To Recruits:

"Whoever offends against the uniform of the King lays himself open to the most grievous punishments. Wear your uniform in such wise that you will compel respect from the world and from those who oppose you." * * *

"It is now your task to stand faithfully by me and to defend our highest possessions, whether against enemies from without or from within and to obey when I command and never to forsake me."

To Potsdam Regiments:

"Every one lacked confidence in me; everywhere I was falsely judged. One alone believed in me, one alone had faith—that was the army. And leaning upon her, trusting upon our old guard, I took up my heavy charge, knowing well that the army was the main support of my country, the main support of the Prussian throne, to which the decision of God had called me."

"May the main supports of our army remain forever intact. They are courage, sense of honor, and unconditional, iron, blind obedience."

To the Berlin garrison:

"I hope to be in a position, firmly trusting in the leadership of God, to carry into effect the saying of Frederick William I: 'If one wishes to decide anything in the world, it cannot be done with the pen unless the pen is supported by the force of the sword.'"

In an address at Koenigsberg in August, 1910, the Kaiser said:

"Here it was that the Great Elector, by his own right, created himself the sovereign Duke in Prussia; here his son set the King's crown upon his head; and the sovereign house of Brandenburg thus became one of the European powers." * * *

"And here my grandfather, again, by his own right, set the Prussian crown upon his head, once more distinctly emphasizing the fact that it was accorded him by the will of God alone and not by parliament or by any assemblage of the people or by popular vote, and that he thus looked upon himself as the chosen instrument of Heaven and as such performed his duties as regent and sovereign."

Again, he said:

"Only one is master in the country. That am I. Who opposes me I shall crush to pieces."

Again:

"That which was lacking to the old Hansa—a strong, united Empire, obedient to one will—we now have, thanks to the grace of Heaven and the deeds of my grandfather."

This is the Kaiser's picture of German government. If Americans looked upon it with approval their birth-

right of 1,500 years of Anglo-Saxon struggle for liberty would indeed go for a mess of pottage.

It would be incorrect to say that the Kaiser never speaks except to rally his soldiers. He speaks upon religion, philosophy, art, and other subjects. In a letter, in 1903, he said that God reveals Himself through the human race and mentions Charlemagne and his own grandfather, but neither Washington nor Lincoln. In a speech at Stettin, in 1898, he said, "But I, as lord of the land, and King, express my thanks to you that you have brought the city of Stettin to such a flourishing position."

The Kaiser is not insane, although in a world filled as this has been for a hundred years with democratic progress he might seem so. He has an object in view and he knows what he is about. He wants to retain for himself and his descendants the job of ruling the Germans and he wants to continue to do it in a mediaeval manner. He is carrying on his campaign to convince Germans that he can rule them better than they can rule themselves. He always dresses like a warrior and in a loud voice sounds alarms and calls upon his army to be ready. He and his six sons ride through the streets of Berlin together in brilliant uniforms and everyone has seen the picture of the Kaiser and these sons marching abreast, all boots, overcoat, sword and spiked helmet; military swagger is accepted by the people as wholesome government. For twenty-five years the Kaiser has sown the seed and the German nation has succumbed. It follows him now without question; the spirit of feudalism reigns, with the full approval of Germans in America. They encourage the Germans in Germany to stay under the yoke. This is

what Germans in America have embraced in place of American political ideals; but this is not all.

Rosa Luxemburg is a Socialist orator in Germany. Not long ago the Prussian minister of war laid an information against her for libeling the officers and non-commissioned officers of the army in charging them with acts of cruelty. The court held that Rosa must prove that the acts occurred not in one but in many German barracks daily. On the day set for trial Rosa came into court and offered to prove 1,030 cases by witnesses who had endured the cruel treatment or had seen it inflicted. The case was adjourned and never resumed. The cruelties consisted in slaps in the face, punches and kicks, beating with sheathed sabres and bayonets, with riding whips, harness straps, and so on. There were cases of humiliating punishment such as turning the men out of bed and making them climb to the top of cupboards or sweep out the dormitory with tooth-brushes. So do Germans submit to blows and insults from masters.

At another investigation one sergeant was accused of over 500 cases of maltreatment. A captain under whom a non-commissioned officer had committed 1,500 cases of ill-treatment was punished for allowing these acts to occur and later was advanced to the rank of major over the heads of a line of seniors.

The Zabern case in 1913 is known to the whole world. A raw lieutenant addressing his company applied an offensive term to the people of Alsace, and offered a prize of ten marks to those who should succeed in running a civilian through with side arms. These facts became public and when he appeared with his men he was jeered at by boys who ran when chased; but he caught a lame shoemaker and cut him over the

head with his sword. Troops were called out, machine guns placed in the streets, the colonel proclaimed martial law and arrested a large number of municipal officers and private citizens, imprisoning thirty of them in a cellar. In the investigation which followed the colonel said that civilians had been arrested "for intending to laugh." The Crown Prince telegraphed to the colonel "Go it strong!" The colonel and the lieutenant were both acquitted and in a short time the colonel received a Prussian Order. The lieutenant was last month killed in battle. The Crown Prince sent a wreath for his grave and a letter to his family lauding him as a patriot.

How long would such things be in an Anglo-Saxon community? It will be answered that all Germany protested against these acts, and so it did; but what good did it do? The struggle was recognized as one between the people and the military caste and the caste won. The Reichstag censured the outrage by a vote of 293 to 54; the colonel received a decoration and a reactionary Prussian bureaucrat was made governor of Alsasce-Lorraine; and the people submitted and are now fighting as one man with the approval of Germans in America to spread German kultur over the world.

Social legislation has been carried to a great extent in Germany. It was expected that Socialists as a body would gratefully melt away and become part of the great mass of people liking to be ruled. But under the name Social Democrats they wanted a share in the government and they occupy to-day about the position of liberals in other countries. Speaking to striking miners in May, 1889, the Kaiser said: "For me every Social Democrat is synonymous with an enemy of the realm and of the Fatherland." And in 1913 ex-

Chancellor von Buelow said, "It is the duty of every German Minister to combat this movement until it is defeated or materially changed."

In November, 1891, in addressing recruits, the Kaiser said: "You have sworn loyalty to me; that means, children of my guard, that you are now my soldiers, you have given yourselves up to me, body and soul, there is for you but one enemy, and that is my enemy. In view of the present Socialistic agitation it may come to pass that I shall command you to shoot your own relatives, brothers, yes, parents—which God forbid—but even then you must follow my command without a murmur."

The Kaiser has the power to make good his threat. Since the German navy produced an officer who would execute the order to sink the Lusitania with its crew and its 1,000 passengers, including 130 children, all defenceless, the world may conclude that the Kaiser's soldiers, at his command, will shoot down their own fathers and mothers.

It is a relief to turn from this ruler to a classic illustration of American political ideals. In 1783, after the last British and German soldier had embarked, Washington bade farewell to his generals in New York and went quietly through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, hailed everywhere by the people with acclamations and addresses, to the Continental Congress, at Annapolis. There , on December 23, he resigned his commission as commander in chief into the hands of Congress. It was for this act that the father of Carl Schurz told him that Washington was "the noblest of men of all history because he had commanded large armies in the war for the liberation of his people," and then had returned to the plow as a

simple farmer. Why is Washington first in the hearts of his countrymen, and why does his fame go sounding down generation after generation? If Germans in America will examine this question with German thoroughness and get a correct answer, then they will understand why Americans will never, never wish success to German kultur with its divine right of kings and military autocracy; and no efficiency, inseparable from such company, will ever appeal to Americans.

Germans in America today belittle Treitschke. They tell us that this advocate of the doctrine that might is right and that small nations have no rights which strong nations are bound to respect is not followed in Germany. Yet for thirty years he was the leading professor of history in Germany; his classes were crowded and he was the most quoted historian in Germany; and his doctrines and his manner of stating them secured him a promotion to the University of Berlin, where he held his place until he died in 1896. It is too late for Germans to deny that he was a prophet, since his doctrines have now passed into the stage of blood and iron and the battle for them is supported by Germans in America. After all, he but followed all German historians who are ranked by Germans as great. Niebuhr held up Rome as "The model of national development." "The true destiny of Prussia," said Ranke, "is to be and remain a military monarchy. It is impossible not to submit to what is historically due." Mommsen spread Caesarism in Germany, and Sybel, a Forty-Eighter, after the war successes under Bismarck went completely over to autocracy. Treitschke with readier pen and more eloquent tongue only elaborated and rounded out the skeleton doctrines shaped by his predecessors; and Bernhardi, now a general in active service, only states those doctrines a little more in the raw. These men can not be repudiated. The principles they advocate are held and at least temporarily believed in by most Germans and are part of the kultur of which they are boasting.

That Germans in America, legally American citizens, bound, as most of them are, by the closest ties of relationship with Germans in Germany, should love the people of Germany is entirely commendable and to be respected. That they should feel the deepest anguish on account of differences between this country and Germany can be understood. But when they go farther, as the majority of them do, and desire the success of the military autocracy which brought on this war, they are joining in a movement to block the progress of civil liberty in the world. And Germans who are furious and insolent and insulting toward Americans who do not agree with them, expect Americans to bear in silence such Copperhead utterances as the following which was received with loud acclaim by the National German-American Alliance:

"We have no right to sit in judgment upon other nations until our own actions are above reproach. Germany has been instrumental in sinking the Lusitania, she was provoked to do so by England. But by far the greatest blame for this horrible catastrophe attaches to the United States. The underlying cause was our greed for gold."

This Alliance, an organization devoted to the spread of German kultur in the United States, declares, "As citizens of this country we therefore deem it our duty to maintain American independence and principles." The principles which were established when the last of

the 29,166 German mercenaries were captured at Yorktown, cannot be maintained side by side with the principles of the military autocracy which this organization represents in America. Not all Germans in America undertake this double allegiance, but those who do are not Americans, they are not German-Americans, although born here; they are only Germans in America.* How little Germans understand Americans! When they ask us to believe that the present day Germany ought to succeed in this war they are asking us to pray for a country which may be used by the Kaiser whenever he wills for just such purposes as Frederick the Great used Prussia when he seized Silesia; and they as little understand the American spirit as the Kaiser did when he thought we would appreciate a statue of Frederick the Great set up in Washington. Nor did they understand Americans

*A report in the proceedings of the Alliance says: "Our own prestige depends upon the prestige of the Fatherland and for that reason we cannot allow any disparagement of Germany to go unpunished."

An Alliance inspector of German schools reports that wherever these schools prosper the children remain German in spirit and sentiment even to the third generation.

Professor Kuehnemann of Breslau, who lectured in this country under the auspices of the Alliance says, "The Germans in America can offer their Fatherland no greater evidence of faithfulness than by working to the end of keeping America aloof from England."

At its last national meeting, the Alliance said that "only with a knowledge of the history of German politics and culture could an understanding of American history be acquired." (Ohlinger, pp. 42, 43, 49 and 50). It is not quite plain how the history of the spirit of the Teutonic Knights which now rules Germany could help the children of America to understand her foundations of liberty, all of which rest upon Anglo-Saxon soil.

when they thought that their excuses for their treatment of Belgium would be acceptable. Belgium had wronged no one. There liberty was preserved; Belgium was living her life of happiness and prosperity in a high degree. Her country was her own. When her people saw their country invaded, their soldiers killed, their cities seized, their homes occupied, the least the Germans could do was to treat with gentleness the crazed few who exercised the right of self-defense. Instead, they did things which made it seem that Attila was back again in Gaul.

In the face of Bismarck and von Buelow and practically the entire German opinion, now comes Professor Muensterberg, in September, 1915, and says that Germany is as much self-governing as America, that the ministry is responsible to the Reichstag and that the the American President can decide upon war all by himself. Muensterberg is the ninety-fourth professor. The German university apparently teaches nothing which contributes to an understanding of evidence. It has filled the world with declarations which it is charitable to class as German axioms, to the German professorial mind requiring no proof.*

But Professor Muensterberg says something more. He says that the Germans in America felt it their sacred duty to foster German ideals and virtue in their American homes and their American cities and make this country a better and nobler country. This he says, was having its effect against the spirit of recklessness

*In the *Yale Review*, July, 1916, is an article, "Autocratic Government in Germany," by Professor Kuno Francke, remarkable for its amazing omission of the facts which show that German government is, as Gneist says, "absolutism under constitutional forms."

and lawlessness in the land, but an enmity against Germany has suddenly interrupted all this and the country is again plunged in "the reckless spirit of dash."

Now, the fact is that, up to a certain point, the Germans average with good Americans as citizens, but when a thing was wrong in public administration they have with notable exceptions been practically useless as a factor to take hold and set it right. Centuries of non-participation in government left them with an inherited futility in political reform. Moreover, the Germans in this country quite as much as the Americans have been given up to making money. Where political bosses gather, there Germans as well as Americans are represented, and they have done their share of grafting. If the Germans in Indiana had been steadily bent upon improving our vicious city government and had been willing to make the necessary sacrifices, and had continuously co-operated with those who were struggling to bring about improvement, we should have had twenty years ago the very best of city administration. Instead, I leave them to answer the question what has been their attitude toward the influence, for more than forty years, chiefly responsible for our vicious city government—the brewery in politics?

Professor Muensterberg says something more. He falls back upon philosophy and in describing the difference between Anglo-Saxon and German beliefs says, "The Anglo-Saxon system is controlled by the belief in the individual as such and the Teutonic ideals are bound by the belief in the over-individual soul." He further explains that, under the Anglo-Saxon system the state serves the individuals and their happiness,

while under the German system, the individuals serve the state as "the bearer of national culture." This is another way of stating the well known doctrine of the German professors that the State has a life of its own separate from and above that of the people.

A ruler's hand is upon every teacher in Germany. Every teacher who talks of politics or history must shape his words to make for the comfort and stability of kaiser, king, military caste, and official class. Who fails in this will find the wolf at his door. We have now the key to this doctrine of the separate life of the state. It was invented by German philosophers to give a respectable appearance to the autocrat for the time being, instead of requiring him to base his right to govern upon brute strength. This separate life is Muensterberg's over-individual soul. The Kaiser for the time being is that over-individual soul; he is that life separate from the German people and is responsible to God alone. In various forms this philosophical toadyism to autocracy has been pursued by German professors until they have lost the respect of the world. The circular of the ninety-three professors will forever remain an example humiliating to the profession of letters.

Muensterberg asks if German citizens of America are disloyal to the country, if they wish to spread these German ideals in America? The answer is that they are disloyal to American political ideals. We will have no life in the State separate from and above the life of the people. If you take the Reichstag and give it the power of the House of Commons and make the ministers responsible to it, the over-individual soul and the separate life of the State are as dead as Adam; the people cease to be servants and become

masters and the State is simply their representative acting for them. There is no room in this country for government by the people and a government by the over-individual soul—alias autocracy.

And so, Americans cannot agree with Germans in America without a surrender of their own political ideals; for there can be no blending of American and German political ideals. What will Americans do?

When an American looks upon his political history extending from the German tribes in England, in whose assembly no man dictated, to Abraham Lincoln standing upon the field of Gettysburg pledging the nation to the defense of government by the people, that American is looking upon a mighty heritage. This heritage is not for the Anglo-Saxon alone; it is for all who come and accept it. It is for the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Jew, the Russian, the Pole and the Hungarian, as well as the German. But there must be no divided allegiance; no attempt to blend American political ideals with old-world political ideals which have been the mortal enemies of civil liberty since the world was. Americans will make it their work to preserve their heritage. The struggle which shakes the world today is the old struggle of democracy against autocracy. That is how England and France are fighting our battle. Americans can sympathize with only one side in that struggle and that is the side which is in unison with their whole history. If

that side wins, the German people will come out of the darkness in which they now live and with all their virtues, abilities, and means of happiness, success and prosperity, will stand side by side with us in the broad sunlight of liberty. If that side loses, Americans must brace themselves to meet an antagonist such as the world never saw before. But we have this—the American is unterrified and not afraid and he is a long-winded fighter.

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